

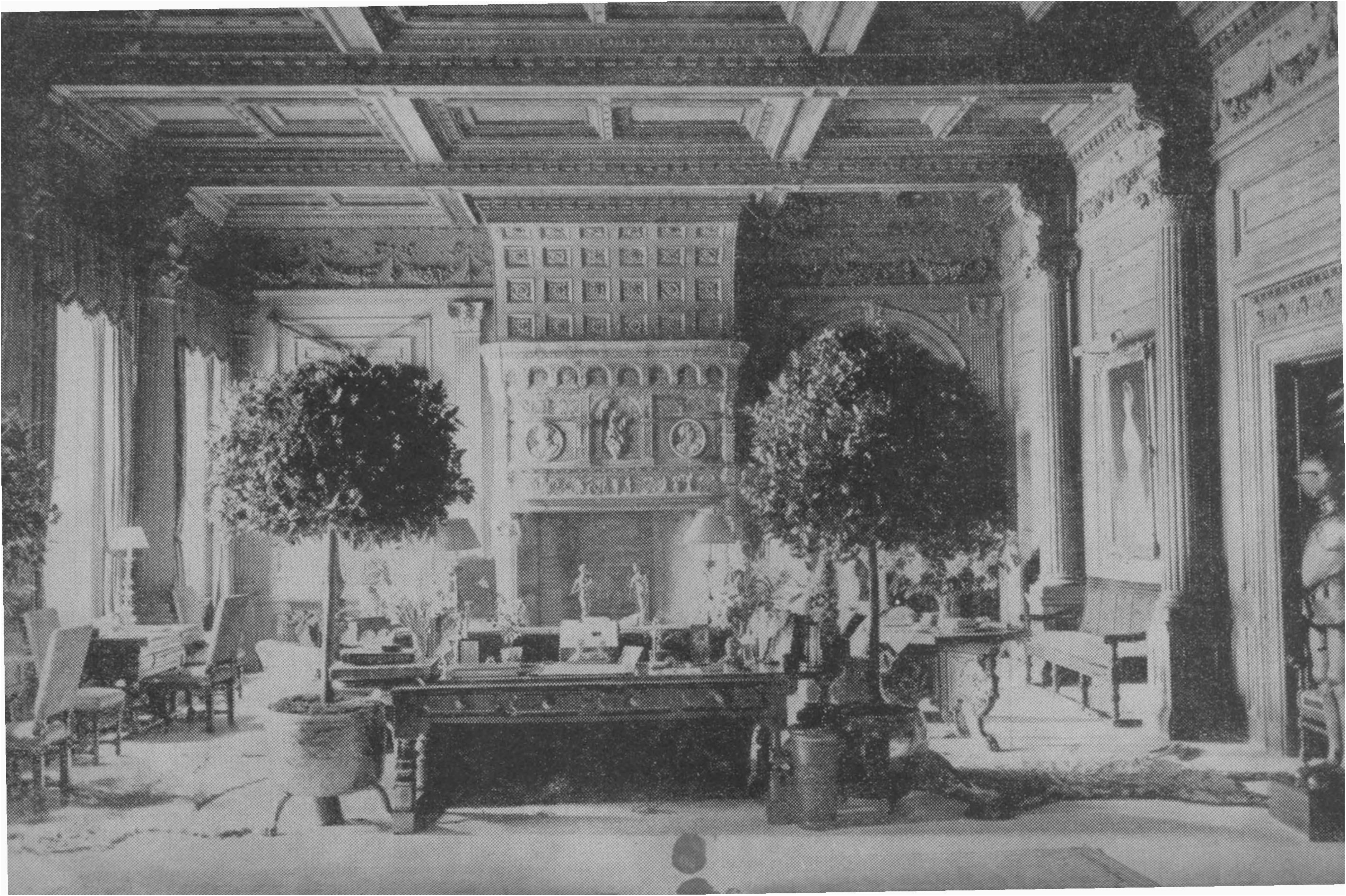
SIDELIGHTS ON THE CLIVEDEN SET

Hitler's Friends in Britain

From Cliveden House in Buckinghamshire operates the Cliveden Set—making and breaking British Cabinet Ministers—bringing Britain to the verge of war—wielding the power of International Fascism.



ONE PENNY



CLIVEDEN HOUSE at Taplow, Buckinghamshire, country home of Lord and Lady Astor, meeting-place of powerful secret diplomats. Week-end parties at Cliveden House have made and broken British Cabinet Ministers. Decisions taken there have brought Europe to the verge of war. Friends of Hitler and enemies of the people are welcome there. Many of the "National" Government's betrayals of peace have begun with a Cliveden week-end party. The Cliveden Set . . . their power reaches through British banking, transport, journalism—through Britain's Parliament, across the seas to International Fascism. But their power can be broken. . . .

The Astors are a very wealthy American family which owes its fortune in the first place to a German immigrant to America.

ANCESTOR ASTOR MADE FORTUNE SELLING LIQUOR TO NEGROES

His descendants to-day remain firmly loyal to the fatherland their ancestor deserted. The Astor family is not content with the power and influence given it by its huge wealth. It actively directs Britain's economic life. Major the Honourable John Jacob Astor, M.P., is particularly noteworthy in this connection. Brother of Viscount Astor, this gentleman is director of the following, amongst other, companies:—

1. Hambros Bank Limited—one of the City's most important banking houses with important connections in Europe. (C. J. Hambro, one of Astor's co-directors, is also on the Bank of England and Great Western Railway Boards.) Recent dividends, 1923-27, 18 per cent. each year; 1927-28, 18 per cent. and bonus of 40 per cent.; 1928-31, $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. a year; and 18 per cent. each year since.
2. Great Western Railway Company, Limited—one of the Big Four companies which monopolise Britain's railway system. Capital and debentures outstanding total £150,000,000; net profit in 1937, £6,887,000.
3. Phoenix Assurance Company Limited—controlling eleven insurance companies including several in America and Canada, with assets of £36,000,000. 60 per cent. each year has been paid in dividends since 1933.



Lord and Lady Astor. At their weekend parties policies are hatched on which hangs the lives of thousands of ordinary people.

INTERESTS IN BANKING, RAILWAY, INSURANCE, STRENGTHEN ASTOR POWER

No less thorough has been the Cliveden penetration of Britain's political machine.

Lady Astor has been M.P. for Plymouth since 1919. Major Astor has been M.P. for Dover since

1922. The Honourable William Wardorf Astor, son of Lord and Lady Astor, has been M.P. for East Fulham since 1935 and is Parliamentary Private Secretary to Duff Cooper, the First Lord of the Admiralty. Son-in-law of Lord and Lady Astor is Lord Willoughby de Eresby, M.P. for Rutland.

Four M.P.s is a big representation for one family, but its power in Britain's Government is greater even than that. Astor connections in the House of Lords are Lord Astor himself and Major Astor's brother-in-law, the Earl of Minto, owner of 25,000 acres of land.

SO THIS ONE FAMILY HAS SIX SEATS IN PARLIAMENT

The economic and political tie-ups do not, however, tell all the Astor story. Most important of all are their general social connections and their chief source of strength in this field is their enormous press power.

"The Times" is Britain's primary newspaper. Regarded here and all over the world as the semi-official organ of the City and aristocratic circles, recognised as being very close indeed to Government circles and as interpreting its policy—it has as chairman—Major Astor!

The "Observer," holding a very similar position to "The Times," the generally recognised kite-flyer, in whose columns contemplated pieces of ruling class policy first see the light of day for public reaction to them to be fully tested, this leading Sunday newspaper is owned by Lord Astor!

In the hands of these two brothers lies the effective control of Britain's two leading newspapers, whose influence at home and abroad it is impossible to exaggerate. For they are papers which the ruling class read to find out what they ought to be thinking—papers which are eagerly scanned in every chancellery in Europe for the official Government viewpoint.

ASTOR "TIMES" . . . ASTOR "OBSERVER" PUT OVER HITLER POLICY

Add this fact to their enormous wealth, to Major Astor's financial and industrial position, to the family's Parliamentary group, and some idea will be gleaned of the power of this clique in Britain to-day. Important though the Astors are, there are, however, other no less influential members of the Cliveden set.

Perhaps the most noteworthy is Lord Lothian. He, like the Astors, has his finger in every pie. He is governor of the National Bank of Scotland which is the Scottish subsidiary of Lloyds Bank, one of the "Big Five" British joint-stock banks, and a director of the United Kingdom Temperance and General Provident Institution.

He comes of a very old aristocratic family and is the happy owner of 28,000 acres of land, so if economic self-interest counts for anything, it should be easy enough to guess where this noble gentleman's heart lies. He said, on December 12th, 1935, "The only way in which you can attain to the Socialist ideal by nationalisation is by nationalising everything at once—as the Communists have done. The objections to

this drastic method are that it can only be accomplished as the result of a bitter and bloody struggle," (organised, be it noted, as in the Russian War of intervention of 1921 and as in Spain to-day, by big financiers and aristocrats of Lord Lothian's type.)

Lord Lothian has also tried his hand at politics. He is a Liberal, though it is doubtful how far—if at all—any Liberal worthy of the name tolerates or sympathises with his present activities. He was secretary to the Prime Minister, Lloyd George, from 1916 to 1921, so is very familiar with the "bitter and bloody struggle" on which the British Government spent £100,000,000 in war against the newly-formed U.S.S.R.

In 1931 he came over to the National Government and held a Ministerial post, being Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. From 1931 to 1932 he was Parliamentary Under-Secretary at the India Office and in 1932 was appointed Chairman of the Indian Franchise Committee.

LORD LOTHIAN IS USED TO BREAK PEACE FORCES

But his value to the Cliveden set—and his danger to all peace-loving people—lies not so much in his financial, aristocratic or political connections as in the widespread influence he still exerts as a result of his past activities.

His connection with the League of Nations Union has always been close. His influence amongst the great mass of confused and vaguely pacifist-minded people is perhaps second only to that of George Lansbury. It is this fact which makes his appeals for "justice to Germany" and against the application of sanctions on the aggressor States so invaluable to the pro-Nazi clique who have adopted him. He

has the ear of a large number of peace-loving people and the cunning to twist their naturally rising hatred of militarist Fascism away from its real cause and to direct it against the League of Nations and the democratic States.

Is this an exaggerated opinion?

Let the following quotations from his recent pronouncements clinch our case.

“There is grave danger both to the League of Nations and to peace if either become identified with the theory of collective security. . . . Automatic sanctions, therefore, are simply an obligation to go to war to maintain the *status quo*. . . . If you cannot prevent a war, it is far better to isolate it than to spread it into a world war, which is precisely what the system of collective security, if adopted, is bound to do.”

He said this on February 23, 1937. And it is his job to use clever words like this to confuse peace lovers and prevent them from pressing a common peace policy. No sanctions against Japan for its unprovoked aggression in China, against Mussolini in Abyssinia, against Hitler and Mussolini in Spain, or Hitler in Austria! Why? Not because sanctions would damage and perhaps destroy the Fascist powers with which Lothian and his kind are in sympathy. Oh dear, no, nothing as crude as that, but for the sake of world peace. . . . Well, after seven years of this policy, Lord Lothian has got the “peace” he wants—Hitler and Mussolini over Europe, and Japan carrying on her ruthless slaughter in the Far East.

Again, on April 21, 1937, he says, “There will be no lasting peace until there is a real settlement with

Germany. . . . With regard to Spain . . . the liberal and democratic powers must refuse absolutely to be drawn into that ideological conflict." Full concession to Germany's imperialist demands, a free hand to Hitler and Mussolini in Spain. This is what he advocates.

As a result of Lord Lothian's past association with the League, many thousands still have faith in him as a genuinely peace-seeking man. His poison now penetrates ears which would be deaf to the cruder forms of pro-Nazi propaganda. This is Lothian's chief value to the Cliveden set.

NOW LOTHIAN OPENLY HELPS FASCISM

One last example of his technique. In "The Times" of March 14, 1938, immediately after Hitler's rape of Austria, appeared a letter from him in which he makes two assertions. "The most important single aspect" of the invasion, he says, "is that it at long last ends the disastrous period when the League of Nations attempted, in the name of the Covenant, to deny to the Germans . . . their national unity and so drove them to accept a totalitarian regime as the one method by which they could recover their unity and their natural rights." This is Lothian's fanfare of victory. As a result of the policy of never applying effective sanctions to an aggressor, a policy consistently advocated by Lord Lothian and forced on the League by the National Government, Germany has flouted the League and destroyed its value. "And a good thing too" says Lothian, now having completely forsaken his League sympathies in an orgy of pro-Nazi propaganda.



Major Astor is chairman of "The Times." This "impartial," "Government" newspaper, along with the Astor-owned "Observer," backs Fascist policy in this country.

His second proposition is still more illuminating. He states:

“ I believe that democracy itself will only recover its health and confidence if the democratic peoples are ready to place universal national service alongside individual freedom as the basis of society, and if national service includes compulsory service for capital—e.g., the registration of houses for hospitals, the limitation of war profits, and so on, as well as the organisation of universal ‘ fitness ’ and the allocation to every individual of his or her duty of service to the community whether in peace or emergency.” This, he suggests, is vital, if we are “ to convince Germany and Italy that the time has come for negotiations for a final settlement.

Note the logic of the Cliveden set. First,

William Gallacher, M.P., in his speech to the House on March 14th, 1938 said:
“ We have in this country, as they had in Austria, a gang of traitors who will sell their country to Germany.”

opposition to sanctions against the aggressor, support for a free hand to Fascism.

Second, as a result of this policy operated by the British “ National ” Government, Fascism crashes ahead in Spain, Austria, China.

Third, the argument set out above, that now that the Fascist States have become so powerful, Britain, in order to negotiate with them on equal terms, must introduce universal peace-time conscription.

The Astors and the Lothians are not traitors to

their nation of the ruling class, City magnates, landed aristocrats and industrial bosses. But they are to *our* nation, the nation of the common, peace-loving, liberty-respecting people.

Another important member of the Cliveden set is Lord Londonderry. Durham's biggest royalty owner, chairman of Londonderry Collieries, Limited, and the Seaham Harbour Dock Company.

LONDONDERRY'S BOAST . . . HE PREVENTED INTERNATIONAL BAN ON AIR BOMBING

In 1928 Londonderry first entered the Cabinet as First Commissioner for Works. From 1931 to 1935 he was Minister for Air and boasted of the part he played on behalf of the National Government at the Geneva Disarmament Conference in 1932 in preventing the prohibition of the bombing plane by international agreement. A close friend of Von Ribbentrop and an open Nazi supporter, it is not surprising that he is eagerly co-operating with the Cliveden set.

CLIVEDEN CONTACT MAN ON U.A.B.

Another frequent visitor to the Cliveden week-end parties, is Mr. Tom Jones. Formerly deputy secretary to the Cabinet and secretary to the Economic Advisory Council, since 1934 he has been a member of the Unemployment Assistance Board. He is a close friend not only of the Astors but also of Earl Baldwin, whom he still advises on current

politics. He is, therefore, invaluable as "contact-man" to circles which the Cliveden set would not otherwise penetrate.

Of such personalities is the Cliveden set composed. It starts with these and builds outwards. It soon recognised Chamberlain's hatred of the League and love of secret diplomacy as "qualities which will play a constructive part in British foreign policy," to quote "The Times," its mouthpiece. It soon spotted Lord Halifax's sympathy for Nazi Germany, and he became a frequent Cliveden visitor.

The younger Conservative pro-Fascists, men like A. T. Lennox-Boyd, M.P., (who has already had to apologise in the House for a speech he made) and Henry Channon, M.P., close friend of Von Ribbentrop, were duly enrolled in the Astor Parliamentary caucus.

DOUBLE-CROSSING DEMOCRACY

The Cliveden set went into action.

The most recent stage in the great double-cross of democracy perpetrated by Chamberlain began in October, 1937. Throughout that month, correspondence on the subject of the Nazi colonial claims was poured into the columns of "The Times," urging the desirability of the return of colonies to Germany. This was emphasised in "The Times" editorial of October 29, which suggested secret talks with Hitler on the subject. The second line of campaign was that the Government should be urged to support an agreement with Hitler that Germany should



How the Cliveden Gang does get around! Here is Lady Astor sampling the Milk Marketing Board's Milk.

declare a ten-year truce in the colonies claim in return for Britain giving him a free hand in Austria and Eastern Europe.

In furtherance of this line, Cabinet Ministers were approached. Sir Samuel Hoare, Lord Hailsham, Lord Swinton, Sir John Simon and Sir Kingsley Wood were hotly in favour and later Chamberlain fell in with the idea. It was decided on the instigation of the Cliveden set that their closest political ally, Lord Halifax, should go to Berlin to conduct the negotiations. Whilst there he was told of the

proposed invasion of Austria by Germany and assured Hitler that the British Government would not interfere.

But this capitulation to Fascism was not enough for the Cliveden set and the dictators in whose interests it was working. Eden had fiercely resisted the Halifax conversations, actually going so far as to resign over them on November 8, 1937, a resignation he subsequently withdrew. He knew and opposed Halifax's Austrian sell-out. Early this year, at Chamberlain's instigation, Eden was instructed to enter into negotiations with Mussolini, negotiations involving Britain's recognition of his Abyssinian conquest and a war loan in return for little more, apparently, than that Mussolini should cease his unprovoked attacks on British shipping in the Mediterranean. Eden disliked the proposed terms and did not hurry the conversations, insisting on some substantial withdrawal of Italian troops from Spain as a preliminary.

The Cliveden set was not satisfied. It went into action again.

THAT FATEFUL WEEK-END PARTY

Late in January a week-end party took place at Cliveden. Amongst the guests were, in addition to the Astors, Lord Halifax, Lord Lothian, J. L. Garvin (editor of the "Observer,") Tom Jones and Neville Chamberlain.

The discussions which took place were not made public, but what is known is that throughout early February the German press ran an intensive anti-Eden campaign and demanded his dismissal and replacement by Halifax. It is known that the

Mussolini-inspired Italian press on February 11 wrote "Our opinion will not change until England's foreign policy ceases to be directed by Mr. Eden." It is known, too, that "The Times" and "Observer" attacks on Eden's handling of affairs grew in volume after the Cliveden party, that false rumours about his "ill-health" began to circulate and a vigorous whispering campaign against him was set in motion. Finally, it is known that Eden was forced to resign on February 20 and that Lord Halifax took his place as Foreign Secretary, and open pro-Fascists like Lennox-Boyd and Channon got Ministerial posts.

THE CLIVEDEN GANG FOUGHT FOR FASCISM

This is evidence so definite and so strong that no intelligent person with a shred of political understanding could fail to be fully satisfied as to the back-door wire-pulling of the Cliveden set.

What is the outcome of the policy put forward by the Cliveden set and operated by Chamberlain?

Countless massacres of peaceful Spanish citizens, old men, women and children, by German and Italian planes. The murder of British seamen, the torpedoing of British ships. The endangering of Britain's trade routes. A new menace to the people of France, Britain's sure allies against the Fascist determination to conquer the world. The seizure of Austria; unspeakable Nazi brutalities against the Austrian people. A new and urgent threat against the people of Czechoslovakia. To sum up, the undermining of democracy and peace, encourage-

ment to Fascist aggression, and therefore a deadly peril to the people of Britain.

The hands of Chamberlain and his Cliveden Set are red with the blood of tens of thousands of the Spanish people. Chamberlain and this Cliveden Set are the same criminals who have starved the unemployed, left the Distressed Areas to rot, and cut down the Social Services while they and their class batten on Government subsidies and armaments profits.

Communists say the time has come to hound these people out of public life. The time has come to end the domination of Britain by a gang of millionaires and their despicable agents. It is time the people took things into their own hands, and set up a People's Government to carry out the policy desired by the people and in the interests of the people—a policy of alliance of the peaceful countries against fascist aggression, a policy of social progress at home.

Such a policy should contain the following points :

- (1) Immediate assistance for Spain—arms, food, medical supplies. The withdrawal of Hitler and Mussolini's armies and airplanes. Protection of all shipping to Spanish Republican ports.
- (2) Declaration of solidarity with Czechoslovakia.
- (3) Formation of a Peace Bloc with France and the Soviet Union as the basis for a powerful League of democratic States.
- (4) Boycott of Fascist States and co-operation with the U.S.A.
- (5) Control of the armaments industry and democratisation of the armed forces.
- (6) Full support of any rearmament and defence measures necessary in the interests of peace and based on the principle of collective security.
- (7) Social legislation to shorten the working week, provide holidays with pay, end the Means Test and extend social services.
- (8) Immediate inauguration of large-scale public works schemes of social value and utility.

This is the only way to save peace and democracy, to save Britain itself and all that the British people hold dear.

"WE CAN'T BURN OUR FINGERS"

said Chamberlain in the House of Commons, March 16th, 1938. Yet who is responsible for the Fascist butchery in Spain, in China, in Austria? The hands of Chamberlain and his Cliveden set are red with the blood of tens of thousands of the common people. Communists say the time has come to hound these people out of public life. Set up a People's Government to carry out the real will of the British people. This is the only way to save peace and democracy, to save Britain.



Published by the Communist Party of Great Britain, 16 King Street,
W.C. 2. 10,000—29/3/38. Reprint 10,000—11/4/38.
Printed by the Marston Printing Co. (T.U. all depts.), Nelson Place, Cayton Street,
London, E.C. 1.